

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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FOURPENCE

## Atomic agreement possible

— SCIENTISTS —

OVER two hundred scientists, meeting at Holborn Hall last weekend under the chairmanship of Dr. P. W. Brian, formally established a new organisation, "Science for Peace."

The organisation has developed from a provisional committee set up at a meeting early last year, when a statement was adopted declaring that "the weapons of modern war are a product of scientific technology. Their increasing destructiveness is compelling scientists to recognise their moral responsibility... It is our duty to provide the public with information both on the destructiveness and misery of modern war and on the benefits that constructive science can bring."

### An international fraternity

The Statement of Principles adopted by Science for Peace says: "We assert the permanently international character of science. It is a world-wide republic of the mind. The scientists of all countries form one fraternity united in a common effort to understand nature; they could be united in a common concern for human betterment."

"It is our duty to strive for the removal of all barriers that restrict or embarrass the free intercourse of scientists and the free interchange of scientific information throughout the world."

### Reconciliation the only way

Professor Kathleen Lonsdale FRS, a member of the Quaker delegation to Russia, told the Conference that the public did not want to know about the horrors of atomic war.

Peace would come only through reconciliation, she said, and not by blaming Russia, the USA, or anybody else.

The meeting passed a resolution declaring that there are no unsurmountable technical difficulties in the way of establishing an effective system of control and inspection of atomic establishments, which would be possible of operation even in a period of international tension; and that international ownership was not essential for effective control.

The resolution urged that the Government should use its influence to secure that no such proviso as to ownership should be permitted to hold up a general agreement.

Another resolution recalled the declaration of the 1947 International Congress of Microbiology that all forms of biological warfare were unworthy of any civilised community, and calling upon microbiologists throughout the world to do all in their power to prevent their exploitation.

The meeting called for an international agreement on a formal repudiation of any use of biological warfare, and the working out of practical measures to ensure that such repudiation should be effective, including the inspection of research institutes by accredited representatives of an international organisation.

Among those elected to the National Committee were Drs. Brian, Burhop and Comfort and Professors Bernal, Gregory and Rosenfeld.

## Fifteen MPs back Kenya petition

"THE Africans are knocking in a peaceful way at the door of co-operation, and that door is not even ajar," said Mbiyu Koinange in London last week.

Koinange and Achieng Oneko, delegates of the Kenya African Union, were answering questions at a Press conference called by the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism.

Fenner Brockway, MP, had told how the Colonial Secretary and the Minister of State had refused to see both the Kenya delegates and a deputation of Labour MPs.

"In my experience," he said, "it is unprecedented for a Minister to decline to see a deputation of MPs on any subject."

Mr. Lennox-Boyd had said he was going to East Africa and should not see the representatives of one race in advance. This excuse was unsatisfactory; the Kenya Africa Union was representative of all Africans in Kenya.

Later the head of the East African department of the Colonial Office had seen the Kenya delegation and promised a decision on the land problem within three months after consultation with the Legislative Council.

Railway bridge was for Europeans only

Shadowed by CID

For Natives: No sewerage, no lights

## MY VISIT TO BLOEMFONTEIN

"A vivid idea of apartheid"

By MANILAL GANDHI

Manilal Gandhi, son of Mahatma Gandhi, lives in Natal, South Africa. Recently he attended the African National Congress conference which took place in the neighbouring Orange Free State. Below Manilal Gandhi describes his journey to Bloemfontein in a report written for Indian Opinion, the South African weekly, of which he is the editor.

I HAD to leave Durban for Bloemfontein latest on Dec. 14, in order to be present at the conference which was meeting there on Dec. 15. I tried to have my seat booked four days earlier.

I couldn't get a booking as I was told that all seats were fully booked. I made several fruitless efforts till Dec. 13. The excuse given was either that there was no seat vacant or my permit to go to the Orange Free State was asked for, which of course I did not have. So in the end I got a third class ticket which does not require any booking.

I boarded the train at Durban at 8 p.m. on Dec. 14. The third class coaches were crowded. I managed to sit huddled up in a corner. On enquiring I found that there was quite a lot of room in the first and second class compartments. So I paid the excess and got my ticket converted to second class.

### At the border

My thoughts were as to what was to happen at Van Reenen, the Orange Free State border, which we were to reach at 6 o'clock in the morning. Nothing, however, happened. The train arrived at Harrismith (in the OFS) at about 8 o'clock where quite a large number of Europeans had gathered to glance at me.

I was informed that I was being shadowed by the officers of the C.I.D. and that instructions had been issued that I should not be interfered with. In fact the C.I.D. officers visited me at my home at Phoenix, Natal, before I commenced my journey, to make sure whether I was leaving for the Orange Free State.

The train was late by an hour-and-a-half and we arrived at Bloemfontein at 8 p.m. I was surrounded by Press men and camera men, who asked me if I was going to break any laws in Bloemfontein. I told them I had already done so by entering without a permit.

But they were eager to know whether I would break any apartheid laws in Bloemfontein as I had done in Durban.

I told them I had come only to attend the Conference of the African National Congress and that what I had already done was incidental. I did not propose to break any apartheid laws here.

### "That fellow Gandhi"

But two minutes later I happened to do so unconsciously. I was crossing over the

railway bridge leading to the exit, with scores of other passengers, without the slightest notion that I was committing a grave crime.

I was surprised to see the camera men in front of me eyeing with one another to snap me, and the Europeans passing by murmuring, "This is that fellow Gandhi." Bloemfontein is of course a hot bed of anti-non-Europeans.

The very sight of a non-European is offensive to the general European public.

As I came down the bridge, to my surprise, I was accosted by a Police officer: "Your name and address please!" he asked.

"What is all this for?" I asked in surprise.

"Did you not know that you had no right to use this bridge?" he said.

"Is that so?" I queried with a shock, "I must admit I was not aware of the fact but now that I am I shall certainly do it again."

The police officer said he was not concerned about that and he took my name and my permanent home address.

I shall be awaiting a summons as I am still awaiting summonses for the breaches I have already committed.

I found that in Bloemfontein it was easy to commit a breach of the apartheid laws without coming into conflict with the European public.

My self-respect was deeply wounded to find that one may not even use a public thoroughfare because of the colour of one's skin.

It was a thing I could not tolerate and though I had told the Press that I did not propose to commit a breach of any apartheid laws there, I found that I would be obliged to do so in the course of my movements, if I wished to maintain my sense of self-respect.

### In the Native location

From the station I was taken in a taxi to the Native location, where the Conference was sitting. The whole place was in darkness. The Municipality evidently did not deem it necessary to provide the people living in the location with street lights.

Accommodation was made for me in a home of a respectable but poor African family. The only lights in their house were candles. A poor sort of a lavatory was there with no sewerage system. The night soil, I was told, was cleared once in two or three days.

There was no water laid in the house. There were communal taps here and there from where water had to be fetched.

The very kind and generous hosts placed at my disposal their living room, which was their best room, and provided me with a very comfortable and clean bed. I had a night's rest as good as I could have expected to have in the finest hotel. I insisted on sharing the food they ate and so it was a plate of mealiemeal porridge and milk or jam and bread and butter for breakfast and an orange drink, since I did not take any tea or coffee.

During the day I looked round the Native location. Just on the outskirts were factories already in existence for some time and others in the course of erection.

In the location they had their church, their communal halls, their Y.M.C.A. But their living conditions were dreadful.

Civic amenities and other municipal services were conspicuous by their absence. Roads were like country roads. One just wondered what their condition would be in rainy season with no drains.

At night one had to have a torch, which is naturally an expensive luxury for these poor people, or to feel one's way.

Those who resided in the location, I was told, were given a plot of ground on which they erected their own house and paid the Municipality 10s. rent per month and, of course, in addition every adult male was liable to pay £1 poll tax annually.

### BEHIND THE NEWS

THE notes and comments in "Behind the News" on page two, are contributed each week by members of the following panel, in addition to PN Editorial staff:

Vera Brittain, Bernard Canter, Dr. Alex Comfort, Brian Cummings, Frank Dawtry, Emrys Hughes, MP, Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison, Reginald Reynolds, Douglas Rogers, Eric Tucker, and Wilfred Wellock.

With all that it should be remembered that there is no security of tenure whatsoever for these people, who could be shifted from their present place whenever and wherever it may please the authorities.

### They professed to be Christians

When one compared these conditions with the beautiful homes of the Europeans, provided with all the municipal services and all the civic amenities they could desire, one wondered how it was possible for the Europeans to live and enjoy all the comforts of life with any semblance of a clear conscience.

It seemed as though they had no conscience at all. And yet they professed to be true Christians.

God was certainly not in their homes. He was in the homes of these poor, neglected, despised and exploited human beings.

Only that in their ignorance these people did not feel His presence and there was nobody to give them hope and encouragement and to show them the way to see and to feel His presence.

It gave me a vivid idea of what the Nationalist Government's conception of Apartheid was. They say the non-Europeans must be allowed to live and to develop on their own lines, that they must be given complete freedom in their own areas, that they must conduct their own affairs.

Yes, indeed, and so they have their mayor and advisory board, but with what powers heaven alone knows. They did not seem to enjoy any powers.

To stew in their own juice and to remain poverty stricken, so that the factories standing just at their door could be supplied with cheap labour, was their inevitable lot.

### Colour of skin decides wages

These people may only trade within the location. They dare not even be seen hawking in town. Some of them work in European hotels and as domestic servants, having to be satisfied with any wages they get.

The standard of wages is based on the colour of their skin, not on their efficiency.

Where there was competition between the European and the non-European, there the laws were, of course, so made that the non-European whether or not he was efficient for the work he was supposed to do had to be paid the same as the White man, so that the employer was obliged to take the more efficient White man.

How long do the White rulers of this country expect these people to tolerate such conditions?

And on top of it all, since the Government has no respect for these people, how could one blame the Government officials in all departments and the unthinking and uncultured White public for treating them

(Continued on back page)

### "RACIAL UNITY"

A NEW organisation called "Racial Unity" has been set up in this country to work for "closer understanding among peoples of different colours and creeds."

It has arisen out of a concern of Miss Mary Attlee, sister of the ex-Prime Minister, who returned to this country in 1950 and was disturbed by the lack of public interest here in racial discrimination.

Canon Collins, of St. Paul's, is the chairman of the Executive Committee, which hopes to raise an income of about £30,000 a year to do its work. The first public appeal for support will be made at an all-party meeting at the Central Hall, London, on February 4, when Miss Attlee, Mr. Krishnan Menon, Mr. Dingle Foot, Lord Hailesham and Mr. James Griffiths will be among the speakers.

## PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4  
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### AT THE CROSSROADS

IT is possible that we are at the stage when the decisions to be reached by the American Government on the questions at issue in world politics may settle whether the road to be taken will lead to war or negotiation and conciliation.

All sections of the pacifist movement must make their voices heard and must take all steps open to them to make the public articulate on the questions to be settled.

The Russian proposals for dealing with atomic weapons have come very close indeed to what the Western Powers have been demanding, and the fact that the representatives of the latter, and particularly of America, are now showing a disposition to shy away from them carries with it very sinister implications indeed.



The Russian Government has made three important concessions on this issue. First it has made it clear that it takes for granted that the control plan, once endorsed by the Security Council, shall not be subject to the veto exercised on the Council.

Secondly, it has indicated that it is prepared to accept continuous inspection.

As has been explained in Peace News the disagreement here was very largely a difference in the interpretation of words, the Russians assuming that continuous inspection must involve positive managerial control, an implication that the Western representatives had not hitherto intended to convey, although it looks as if some of them would like to have second thoughts about it now.

This point was cleared up during the talks of the representatives of the four powers under Dr. Nervo's chairmanship, and the Russians have taken the initiative in bringing the new understanding before the Assembly.

Thirdly, the Russians are now prepared to agree that, while there should be immediate prohibition of atomic weapons in principle, the actual destruction and cessation of manufacture of such weapons should not take place until an agreed system of control begins to operate.

Russia proposes that a treaty embodying these points shall be prepared by June 1, to be submitted to a World Disarmament Conference to be held by July 15.

These proposals have been referred by the Assembly to the Commission that has been set up to deal with the problem of disarmament as it relates to both atomic and "conventional" arms.

This was a perfectly reasonable thing to do and there would be nothing about it to worry those who have not already accepted a third world war as something that has to be faced, if it were not for the character of the speeches and Press comments on the proposals after their submission by Mr. Vyshinsky.

The general reaction to this approach to agreement on disputed issues has been really alarming.



Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, speaking for Britain was grudging enough, but he took the trouble to say that he welcomed the fact that the proposals had been made and that they would be examined conscientiously. The very different attitude of Mr. Gross, the American representative, seriously raises the question whether the United States Government is prepared to have the resort to atomic weapons prohibited on any terms at all short of American-dominated control over all atomic materials and processes.

His stupid description of the Russian proposals as "double-talk without meaning" was not only described by the Washington Post as a blunder, we are glad to observe, but the same newspaper commented:

"When a Russian concession is dismissed so abruptly, the dismissal comes close to a confession that the United States' own disarmament proposals were nothing but propaganda."

The comments of Mr. Acheson at a Press Conference on the subject, however, were so much in the vein of Mr. Gross that we are driven to ask ourselves whether the comment of the Washington Post was not a plain statement of fact.



It is vital that the men and women of the world who do not regard a third world war as inevitable, and for whom these statesmen speak, should make themselves heard.

They should make it clear that they are not willing to surrender hopes of peace so that the power for domination of America shall be unimpeded; and that they expect these proposals to be given much more serious and responsible treatment in the Disarmament Commission than they have been given in the Assembly.

### Churchill and Formosa

THOUGH we have to await Mr. Churchill's report of his Washington visit (and even then cannot expect to hear all the details) one important fact emerges.

If he has not yielded to the American desire that Britain should change its policy in regard to the Peking Government, he has given way on certain vital points where Mr. Attlee had refused to yield.

It appears that he has acquiesced not only in the extension to China of the Korean war under certain circumstances, but also in the American defence of Formosa if Peking decides to enforce the Potsdam and Cairo decisions.

Whatever else might be said of such an attempt, it would be the resumption of the civil war in China, and would thus be a matter in which the United Nations could not legitimately interfere and in which any intervention by America and Britain would be an obvious act of aggression.

### Diplomatic rebuff

FOR the purpose of encouraging the U.S. Senate to ratify the Japanese Peace Treaty Mr. Dulles has now disclosed the fact, not previously made known to the British Government, that in a letter to him on Dec. 24 the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Yoshida, announced his intention of making a treaty with the Chinese Nationalists, but not with the Peking Government.

What do Churchill and Eden feel about this flouting of the views of the British Government?

In Japan the revelation has produced a sharp controversy in the Foreign Office and in political circles generally. The resignation of at least three Ministers is predicted, but Mr. Yoshida continues to oppose any dissolution of the Diet and refuses to ask the electorate for approval of his policy. He is anxious to have to his credit the Peace Treaty and restoration of Japanese sovereignty: Dulles is anxious to bring Japanese soldiers to the support of his policy for the Far East.

### A new China plan

A FEW weeks ago it was believed that France was ready to end the war in Indo-China, recognising that no good purpose could be served by the continuation of the six years old struggle which has been an increasing embarrassment to her.

The fall of the Pleven Government was due to something more than the periodic crisis which results in a mere reshuffling of cabinet appointments. Underlying it is the increasing concern about international commitments and their effect on French economy.

The suggestion of negotiations with Viet-Minh was met by America with the accusation of appeasement. In order to persuade the French Government to continue the war in Indo-China, and as the result of the meeting in Washington of the Chiefs of Staff of Britain, America and France, the Western Powers have given a clear warning that South-East Asia is a Western interest which they mean to defend. In this way we ally ourselves with the whole of the reactionary colonial policy of France.

Hence additional assistance to the French in Indo-China; the appointment of a soldier as High Commissioner in Malaya against the weight of opinion there; American assistance to Chinese Nationalist troops on the frontiers of Burma; and what American papers call "a new China plan." This plan is taken to have the acquiescence if not approval of Churchill and involves the threat of the naval blockade of China; the bombing of key positions in China if it is not possible to secure peace in Korea or if Chinese volunteers intervene elsewhere in South-East Asia.

### Political paradox

Such action runs the gravest possible risk of leading to world war, but it is justified in America on the ground that having weighed up the situation, American military advisers are prepared to act on the assumption that Russia is unwilling to risk a third world war and so would stand by in the face of such an attack on China. Time says

"Washington, long caught in the fallacy that the USSR can be provoked into a war she does not want, has belatedly faced this risk and decided it is not great, if it exists at all." But the whole of British and American rearmament is based on the opposite assumption—that Russia has aggressive designs and cannot be relied on to keep the peace. Which is right?

### Vital questions

Does America believe that any possible agreement in Korea, while making it obvious that the UN have not achieved their object, will be so hazardous as to keep her still involved there?

Does America fear that a truce in Korea would leave the Peking Government more free to intervene in other parts of South-East Asia?

Does America think that the Peking Government cannot indefinitely tolerate the American protection of the Nationalists on Formosa? Has America therefore accepted the inevitability of a show-down in the Pacific, so that the possibility of a truce in Korea and of a change in their policy in

## BEHIND THE NEWS

regard to the Peking Government now gives way before the necessity of a full scale war with China?

We have always said that the danger of a policy of containment is that it may so easily produce an explosion at the weakest point. America fears that its policy of encirclement will lead the Communists to try to break through the weak gap in Indo-China, and threatens full scale war in the hope of preventing this.

### Positive action needed

IT seems to matter little that Winston Churchill has maintained a difference in principle between the British and American attitude to China, if he has been prepared to encourage American foreign policy in regard to South-East Asia. Never was the need greater for Britain to exercise a strong restraining influence on America.

America and France in common with the rest of the world applauded the ending of the long strife in India by the British withdrawal. This was not appeasement but commonsense and the result has been friendship instead of enmity and the possibility of real partnership between East and West. Why should not the same policy now be applied to the whole of S-E Asia?

Peace is not to be secured either by increasing threats, nor by bluff, nor is all-out war against China the answer to America's fears. Whether it involves the whole world or not, whatever the military verdict, the result would be the loss of Asia to Communism.

The only answer to the growing danger of war is

.1 The determination to secure a cessation of hostilities in Korea and in Indo-China;

.2. An international settlement comprising China, Korea and Indo-China through a conference of all governments concerned in the future of Asia; and

.3. The readiness to seize any opportunity which may lead to general disarmament and a lessening of the tension between East and West.

### The Suez Canal

WHAT was the real meaning of Churchill's request for "token forces of other partners" in the Canal Zone?

Even if Britain regards the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty as giving her the legal right to employ troops in the area, no diplomatic ingenuity could make this apply to the troops of other nations whose presence in Egypt uninvited would be an act of aggression. Nor can the request be explained away by the suggestion that it was only meant to apply if and when Egypt came into a Middle East defence plan.

Egypt is not prepared to be a voluntary partner in such an extension of the Western defence organisation, and cannot be forced like a naughty child to do what its elders and betters say is for its own good.

If Mr. Churchill believes that "it is no longer for us alone to bear the whole burden of maintaining the freedom of this famous waterway" the obvious solution is that he should recognise that the Canal has always been "an international rather than a national responsibility" and take steps to internationalise the Canal and other strategic points, such as Gibraltar, where we only remain because we believe our national interests take precedence over our international responsibilities.

### American Party politics

BRITISH readers of American newspapers who find it difficult to discover any fundamental distinction between Democrats and Republicans should remember that U.S. party politics are at least fifty years behind their British equivalents.

It is not the Socialists and Conservatives of the twentieth century that the two great American parties resemble, but the Whigs and Tories of nineteenth century Britain.

In any two-party system, the over-long innings of one Party tends to bring lethargy, corruption, and intrigue. Today the Democrats, after twenty years of power, have lost control of the U.S. Congress, and even such detached commentators as Walter Lippman are emphasising the need for a change. The problem for America is how to engineer it, since the Democrats have still a comfortable majority in the country.

The latest Gallup Poll on party allegiances gave 32 per cent of the voters as Republicans, 40 per cent. as Democrats, and 28 per cent. as Independents. These figures show that the Democrats are bound to win again at the Presidential election next November unless the Republicans can produce a candidate who will attract the Independents, or stage some kind of political explosion which will break up the Democratic Party.

### Eisenhower for President?

THE case for General Eisenhower, who stated a fortnight ago that he would accept the nomination if it were offered him, rests upon his ability to attract the Independents.

No strong partisan, he recently told Senator Lodge that "his political convictions coincided with enlightened Republican doctrine."

The case against him lies in the objections contemptuously described by the strongly Republican weekly Time as "the latter against a military man in the White House."

In its issue of Jan. 21, Time sets out to refute the supposed American tradition which is hostile to Generals as Presidents, and maintains that this a mere accident of twentieth century history, due to the non-participation of the United States in any major war between 1865 and 1917.

Of the 24 Presidents before Theodore Roosevelt, nine were Generals—Washington, Jackson, W. H. Harrison, Taylor, Pierce, Grant, Hayes, Garfield and Benjamin Harrison.

The USA, Time points out, "never got into a war when one of its nine General-Presidents was in the White House." As for dictatorship, it adds triumphantly, "the loudest accusations on this score were raised against civilians John Adams, Lincoln, and Franklin Roosevelt."

### USA and conscription

IT is still by no means a foregone conclusion that conscription will become law in the USA.

The report of the Commission appointed to report on Universal Military training is due to be received in the early part of 1952 and this has to be considered by Congress.

Some trends of opinion in America are moving strongly against the establishment of conscription, and the imminence of a Presidential election means that these are more likely to carry weight.

There is, however, a good deal of activity to condition American citizens to its acceptance and among this is the preparation of films "to help young people to give their best to, and make the most of, military service."

There are to be 14 of these films and an article in Coronet magazine, which is associated with their production, remarks that "American boys and girls have been taught that peace is basic and that they should abhor violence. This has to be changed."

The films just take for granted the inevitability of conscription and set out to convince boys and girls that a term of military service must be part of the future of every youngster.

The American Federation of Labour made a declaration in favour of conscription, with the proviso that it shall end with "the emergency." This, is in striking contrast with the evidence given by the President of the AFL, Mr. William Green before the Senate Armed Services Committee in 1948, part of which appeared in Peace News recently.

### Carlsen

A. MILNE, who answered the comment that war brought out the best in human nature by observing that "so did shipwreck," went on to say that we did not therefore sink a Titanic every day to demonstrate the glorious possibilities of human nature.

Why were we all stirred by the gallantry and devotion of a Carlsen? Did we all think that we were at sea with him; or were we wishing we had the opportunity to demonstrate, as he demonstrated, courage and devotion?

It seems likely that the humdrum round the daily routine, the lack of adventure and the frustration of a search for security in so many lives, throws into stronger relief a story of responsibility and the assertion of individuality. We have an unknown longing for such responsibility and opportunity; we seek security and "good jobs" yet respond to a story full of all the opposites.

The man who sticks to an ideal is regarded as a fool or a crank—the man who sticks to his ship is regarded as a hero. Both make a substantial contribution to the assertion of human values.

We can salute Captain Carlsen for showing us that it does not need a war to reveal the infinite possibilities of the human race.

### An element of mystery

Incidentally he maintained to the end his modest response to all the "build-up" activities that went on round him. Police estimated at 275,000 the welcoming crowd that met him at New York. His comment was, "It seems unreal. It does not seem like I quite fit into it. You know I have never seen one of these things before except in movies."

World's Press News provides an element of mystery about his arrival at Falmouth. It says:

"Newspapermen were somewhat puzzled about the way Captain Carlsen was entirely taken over by U.S. Naval officials for an hour on his arrival. The U.S. officials drove in to the dock to meet him. Some correspondents hung on to the cars and were told to get off and get out by U.S. Secret Service men. There were some angry queries from reporters: 'Is this a British dock, or isn't it?'"

# Will Holland put the clock back?

## NATO DEMANDS CHANGE IN CONSTITUTION

From a Correspondent

**A**CCORDING to Vredesactie (Peace Action), the Dutch pacifist monthly, the States General (the two houses of the Dutch Parliament) will shortly have to come to a decision on a Government amendment to the Constitution regarding the King's right to declare war.

Under the 1814 Constitution the right to declare war was the prerogative of the King, with the sole provision that both Houses of Parliament be immediately informed of the action taken. In 1922, Article 59 of the Constitution was amended so as to read:

"The King endeavours to solve any disputes with foreign powers by arbitration and other peaceful means. He does not declare war, except after approval by the States General."

If the present amendment is passed, Article 59 will read:

"The King does not declare the Kingdom to be at war with another power, except after approval by the States General. Such approval is not necessary if the Kingdom is attacked by another power, or involved in war by virtue of its international obligations."

This, as Vredesactie points out, is putting the clock back with a vengeance. Not only does the amendment remove the King's constitutional duty to seek a solution by peaceful means, it also introduces into the Constitution the word "attack" or "aggression," as to the exact definition of which there is so much doubt and uncertainty.

### The people lose control

While it may conceivably be possible for the Government and people of the Netherlands to determine whether their own country has or has not in fact become the victim of aggression, they will almost certainly be quite unable to come to a clear decision if and when the question of aggression arises in regard to "one of the parties in Europe or North America" (as Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty has it).

Yet the Dutch people will then be involved in war "by virtue of international obligations" without having any say in the matter.

It must be remembered that Holland has undertaken the obligations referred to in the amendment (North Atlantic Treaty) partly under the economic pressure brought about by World War II, so that this is another striking example of the way in which the consequences of one war may directly or indirectly lead a country into the next war.

## THEY STUDY HUMAN RELATIONS

By EYVIND S. TEW

TWO thousand people, from all classes and countries, have taken part in summer courses organised by the International Institute of Human Relations, Lisle, New York State, USA.

Institute and courses owe their origin to Dr. and Mrs. Dewitt C. Baldwin of Michigan University, who, with assistance from the Methodist Church in America, developed the idea in the 1930's. It gradually became an independent movement, enjoying financial support from half a dozen different Universities.

Courses are planned for next summer in USA, Denmark, and Japan. They last from five to nine weeks, and the 40 to 50 participants are selected from as many different countries, races, religions and social levels as possible.

## SPREADING THE NEWS

TO reach our aim of £1,000 for the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund during the ensuing year we have to average £38 every fortnight.

Since Jan. 5 we have received £34 which is quite a good start, for which we thank many friends, including one who asks that 2s. 6d. "from a Christmas box" should be acknowledged in Peace News. It would take an average of 304 similar gifts each fortnight to ensure success by the end of the year. To put it in another way, if 8,000 readers of Peace News will each give us 2s. 6d. during the year, our £1,000 is there!

The circulation of Peace News is over 12,000, and I am sure that the number who read Peace News each week will not be less than 50,000. By the way, I hope that you do not keep Peace News to yourself—any more than any other piece of good news. But if you pay for a copy, could you not ask the others who read your copy to give you something for the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund? Even 1d. a week to read Peace News would be a bargain—2s. 6d. a year to save the trouble of collecting 52 pennies! Will you try it with your friends this week and see how they respond?

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Amount received since Jan. 5, 1952: £34.  
Amount aimed at in 1952: £1,000.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund" to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

## YOUTH v. MILITARISM

# REFUSED TO WEAR UNIFORM

## Tribunal told of 3 months sentence

By MARY WILLIS

**A** MAN who had served three months in prison for refusing to wear a military uniform was successful in his appeal to be registered as a conscientious objector at the London Appellate Tribunal last week.

He was William Molton, a member of the Open Brethren, and had been drafted into the army after his previous applications to a local and appellate tribunal had failed.

Molton said that his objection to non-combatant service was that though he

would not have to take up arms, he would nevertheless form part of the unit to which he was drafted.

Another successful applicant was J. N. Wood of Barking, a member of the Salvation Army, who although he served his apprenticeship as a shipwright, hopes to go to the Salvation Army training college, and is already working for the Army as a preacher, a bandsman and a songster.

### His minister disagreed

John Stanton, a pharmacist at a Greenwich hospital, said that he based his pacifism not on the teachings of the Church of England, of which he is a member, but on what he believed to be the teachings of Christ.

His minister, the Rev. Coleman, said he did not agree with Stanton, and indeed they had spent many hours together, till quite late at night, arguing on the subject. He was convinced that his objection was really true, informed, and sincere, founded on a very clear conscience.

This applicant was told he might continue in his work as a pharmacist, or do land or forestry work.

Peter Harris, a library assistant at Plumstead, said he had always thought war was wrong and contrary to Christian principles but had only sorted his ideas out clearly during the last two years.

He belonged to the Congregational Church, and since the local tribunal had criticised him for not studying both sides of the pacifist question he had joined the Christian Peace Group attached to his church, where the subject was discussed from all angles.

The Tribunal decided not to vary the decision of the local tribunal, which had removed his name from the register of COs.

### Gave up job as draughtsman

Cyril Fish, of Southampton, who had given up his work as an aircraft draughtsman because of the likelihood of becoming involved in war work, also had his appeal dismissed, and remains on the military register.

Michael Smith, an assistant teacher, of Herne Bay, said he had been brought up to be a conscientious objector, and based his objection on religious and humanitarian grounds.

His former housemaster testified that he had gained a certain amount of unpopularity through refusing to join the cadet corps when at school, and his mother told how he had fallen out with a great friend on the issue of military service. She said that his wish to become a teacher was based on a desire to help people, and he was devoting part of his spare-time to his pupils.

Michael Smith was given conditional exemption.

### Would like to be Catholic, but—

The last applicant, Michael Harwood, of Sanderson, said that he was not attached to any denomination, but would like to join the Catholic Church except for the fact that he could not agree there could ever be a just war.

"I think it cannot be justified to shed the blood of one's fellow human beings," he declared.

His former headmaster said that Harwood, too, had refused to join the school cadet corps. "He is not a very clear-headed boy," he added, "but I think one thing he sees more clearly than anything else is that he should regard the taking of human life as wrong."

This appeal was dismissed.

## It happens in Russia too

### MILITARISM IN SCHOOLS

**T**HE French pacifist paper, *La Voie de la Paix*, quotes three extracts from books used in Russian schools. These are a book of poems, a grammar (for children from 9 to 11 years) and an arithmetic. They were all published, according to *La Voie de la Paix*, in 1951.

A prose translation of an extract from the book of poems is:

"For myself, while I am waiting, the helmet is much too big. It makes no difference. I shall stand erect, wearing the helmet, at my post. Yes, with a machine-gun, like that! I shall go to battle against the enemies. Promise all the youngsters that you will take us with you."

From the grammar:

"In the following passage replace the infinitive mood by the imperative mood—

"Not to take care of arms, to lose them by negligence, by mishap, is to abuse shamefully the confidence of millions of Soviet patriots. The iron law of our warrior, in all the circumstances of life, is to take care above everything to preserve his rifle, his Sten-guns, his machine-guns. To die at the side of his equipment, but not to abandon it to the enemy."

From the arithmetic:

"In 1939 there were in a factory 65 Vorochilov marksmen. In 1940 there were over four times as many. How many Vorochilov marksmen had been added per year?"

It should be noted that these extracts have been twice translated: from Russian into French and from French into English.

Military service "a degradation"

—says CO

**C**OMPULSORY subjection to military discipline is unpardonable in any country, not to mention a free one," said David Charles Backholer of Blandford, Dorset, in a statement sent to the Bristol Tribunal last week.

"The discipline that exists in the British Army is an insult and a degradation to any self-respecting man. I therefore refuse to perform military service on the ground that in either of the forces I would be of no use to myself or to my country."

David Backholer did not appear personally at the tribunal, reported the Manchester Guardian, and the chairman said that he had not given sufficient grounds to grant his application for registration as a CO.

## —and U.S. leaflet backs him up

In a new leaflet issued by the National Council Against Conscription in the USA containing many extracts from the pronouncements of judges, generals and educationalists, the following are some of the considerations advanced.

### Crime follows war

**T**HE ultimate purpose of an army is to kill as many of the "enemy" and destroy as much of his property as possible, until the enemy finally surrenders. Any other function an army performs is secondary to that.

In a civilised country, the job of turning civilians into soldiers is primarily the job of transforming peaceable, law-abiding individuals in to obedient, unquestioning units of an efficiently murderous, destructive war-machine. Our country has felt it necessary to do this in times of great emergency, but it has also sought to return most of its soldiers to civilian life at the earliest possible moment so that the evil results of militarism could be kept to a minimum.

But after every war America has expected and experienced a wave of crime resulting from the wartime breakdown of normal moral restraints, and the teaching of millions of men that the use of violence is approved.

### Discipline—or self-discipline

Criminologists know that the convict who yields most readily to prison discipline and makes the best "adjustment" to prison rules is very likely to be back in prison with a new sentence soon after his release.

It is self-discipline that makes the good citizen, and self-discipline is weakest where enforced discipline is strongest, as in prisons and armies alike. Every ex-serviceman knows the general acceptance of petty stealing, gambling, profanity, cheating, evading responsibility, bootlicking and the irresponsible handling of property that exists in the Army.

Army insistence on strict obedience, rather than on the forming of personal moral judgments and accepting personal responsibility, leads to moral disintegration.

To expose every boy to this kind of influence, in peacetime, would be a national calamity.

### Readjustment after regimentation

It was no accident that psychologists and social workers in ex-servicemen's agencies put so much emphasis on rehabilitation as World War II drew to a close.

The violent readjustment that men had to make in going from the freedom and individual responsibility of civilian life to the regimentation of the Army now had to be reversed. Men who had gone through the terrific moral convulsion of abandoning the peaceable teachings of their childhood in favour of the savage philosophy of combat now had to return to a moral code they had themselves smashed into a million pieces.

The strain of the first readjustment was so great that thousands of men could not stand up under it, and were discharged as "psychoneurotics." Many men, who could not endure the second change, turned to gangsterism and crime.

### Violence against freedom

One of the effects of prolonged exposure to the military mentality may be seen in the tendency of ex-service groups to take the law into their own hands.

The military mind tends to reduce all problems to simple alternatives: victory or defeat, black or white, right or wrong. It is impatient with the checks and balances of democracy, with tolerance of minorities, and the dedication to freedom of speech "even for the idea we hate." It makes patriotism and conformity synonymous, and identifies as subversive anything that does not wholly support the status quo.

Ex-service groups have been involved in almost every case where meetings have been broken up, speakers heckled or terrorised into silence, or repressive, freedom-denying ordinances forced upon legislators or trustees. This kind of vigilantism is a fundamental crime against the people.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

# Korea: The evidence before the United Nations

From Sir John Pratt, KBE, CMG.

I AGREE with Mr. Birkett (PN, Jan. 11) that it is undesirable to shut one's eyes to unpleasant facts, but what are the facts?

On June 25, 1950, fighting broke out at dawn between the forces of two governments each claiming to be the government of all Korea.

It was not an attack by one State upon another but a civil war with which normally UNO would not be concerned; but some 12 hours later the UN Commission in Seoul received a telegram from the Secretary General asking for a report. They then sent their Chairman to consult Syngman Rhee who explained that the South Korean government had made no plan to appeal to UNO but that there would be no objection if the Commission "brought this latest turn of events to the attention of the Security Council."

The Commission then despatched the telegram S/1496 which the British Government did not publish in the White Paper, Cmd. 8078, presented to Parliament. The telegram suggested that the Secretary General "might consider possibility of bringing matter to notice of Security Council" and promised to "communicate more fully considered recommendations later." The Commission could throw no light on the origin of the fighting but merely reported that each side said the other attacked first.

The appeal to UNO was made not by the South Koreans but by the U.S. Government who demanded that the Security Council should meet that same afternoon, Sunday, June 25.

The U.S. delegate explained that the facts were set out in the United Nations telegram S/1496. He declared that "this wholly illegal and unprovoked attack by the North Korean forces constitutes a breach of the peace and an act of aggression"; and he proposed a resolution:

"The Security Council... Noting with grave concern the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea determines that this action constitutes a breach of the peace."

The Yugoslav delegate objected that, on the evidence before them, it would be wrong to adopt a resolution which meant assessing the guilt of one of the parties: "We have heard the representative of South Korea and we should grant an opportunity for a representative of North Korea to receive a hearing." The Americans insisted that the North Koreans should be condemned unheard before any evidence could be adduced, and the resolution S/1501 was accordingly adopted.

The evidence which the Security Council were not allowed to hear is, in barest outline, to the following effect:

Civil war in Korea had been expected for some 12 months or more. The United States, using UNO as their instrument, had imposed a terrorist regime on South Korea and had rendered permanent the division of the country at the 38th Parallel. The North Koreans and many South Koreans, on the one hand, were determined to drive the United States and UNO out of their country, while Syngman Rhee and his supporters, on the other hand, were determined to overthrow the government in North Korea. Both sides were confident of victory and both were equally bellicose and equally aggressive.

On May 30, 1950, new elections were held in South Korea and in the new National Assembly out of 210 members only 49 were supporters of Syngman Rhee. The North Koreans then launched a plan for unification of North and South Korea by conference and negotiation and in a few days information reached the State Department that the Syngman Rhee administration was on the verge of internal collapse. Foster Dulles and the two Defence Chiefs then went by air to Tokyo to consult MacArthur. They decided that Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek must be given military and economic

## Preparedness

"Let us build the wall thicker," they said.  
"Let us build it stronger and higher, that we  
may defy the crafty enemy."  
So they worked, until, far overhead,  
It arched: airtight defence of the nation.  
The populace died of suffocation.

"Let us build pitfalls," they said, "And alarms.  
Let us build them many and loud, that none  
May dare to enter when we have done."  
So they made a jungle of warnings and  
swarms  
Of traps. Then motion became confusion,  
For all were caught in the common delusion.

They said, "Let us better the weapons we own,  
And more invent, and thereby increase  
Our power; thus, we may live in peace."  
So they planned new deaths and improved  
the known;  
And discovered, at last, disaster impartial  
To winner and loser, to peaceful and  
martial.

CJ STEVENS

Mexico.

aid to enable them to overthrow the Communist governments in North Korea and China respectively. The situation brooked of no delay. On June 25 Syngman Rhee's army launched a sudden attack at dawn on North Korea and captured Haeju some six miles north of the Parallel on the road to Pyongyang. The North Korean army was taken by surprise but quickly recovered. They drove the invaders back across the Parallel and staged a full scale invasion of South Korea.

When the UN Commission in Seoul read the resolution S/1501 they realised what was expected of them and addressed themselves to the task of finding arguments to support the American case.

On June 26 they sent four telegrams asserting that it was a well-planned invasion launched with secrecy and that the South Korean forces were deployed on a wholly defensive basis and were taken completely by surprise.

A later telegram says: "South Korean army in all sectors is disposed in depth." The capture of Haeju is never mentioned.

It is an abuse of language to say that these telegrams contained "definite evidence" of North Korean aggression, but, in any case, they have subsequently been contradicted in all material particulars by General MacArthur and his Chief of Intelligence, General Willoughby. General Willoughby writes of an "alleged surprise" and says "the entire South Korean army had been alerted for weeks and was in position along the Parallel."

MacArthur says: "The South Koreans put their supplies and equipment close to the 38th Parallel. They hadn't developed any positions in depth... so that at one initial stroke this North Korean army had a new supply base in the area between the 38th Parallel and Seoul which enabled them to press south with the full strength of their base immediately behind them. They no longer had to rely on the long distance from the Yalu to get their supplies down."

On June 27 Truman sent the Seventh Fleet to Formosa and ordered armed intervention in Korea and, as regards Korea, the Security Council followed suit a few hours later. This had nothing to do with the telegrams received from the UN Commission in Korea. It was merely carrying one stage further the MacArthur policy agreed upon at the Tokyo conference referred to above. This policy is now about to be carried yet another stage further.

The United States government is actively preparing to launch an invasion of China with Chiang Kai-shek's army from Formosa. On Jan. 6 Cardinal Spellman visited Formosa and gave his blessing to the enterprise. This seems to be another example of an unpleasant fact to which the people of this country will shut their eyes until it is too late.

J. T. PRATT

1 Wetherby Gardens, S.W.5.

**I**T cannot be repeated too often that the truth of an allegation does not depend on the number or eminence of the accusers but only on the evidence they are able to produce to support their accusations. In the four telegrams from UNCOOK on June 26, 1950 I can find no evidence whatsoever submitted to justify a condemnation of the North Koreans, let alone a declaration of war upon them.

Regarding the Security Council resolution of June 25 your correspondent, Mr. S. Birkett, points out "that this resolution merely called for an immediate cessation of hostilities and a return to the 38th Parallel." But let us not overlook that this resolution already condemns the North Koreans as aggressors: "Noting with grave concern the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea," and "Determines that this action constitutes a breach of the peace..." Surely there is no one now, who has gone to the trouble to look at the documents, who claims that any evidence or even accusation was presented to the Security Council by the UN Commission on this occasion. This much, surely, is perfectly established.

Were it only a question of a tragic miscarriage of justice, this would be serious enough. There are important indications, however, that highly placed U.S. officials, notably General MacArthur and John Foster Dulles, encouraged the South Koreans to attack in active collusion with Syngman Rhee.

Why shouldn't your readers find out for themselves: firstly whether there was any substantial evidence offered to convict the North Koreans before the Security Council. There is a good selection of the documents in the case in Sydney Bailey's "The Korean Crisis" published by the National Peace Council at 1s. 6d., although his analysis of the situation leaves much to be desired. Compare the evidence produced with the decisions taken and then see if there is any national daily or weekly at the time or since which bothered about evidence. Read The Times account in your local library and see what you think of it.

Secondly read and compare Sir John Pratt's pamphlet "Korea, the Lie that led to War" obtainable for 4d. post free from the Britain-China Friendship Association, 17 Bishop's Bridge Road, W.2.

For those who would like to compare the

Communist account, there is the "Soviet Union at the Fifth Session of UNO, Sept. 20 to Oct. 23, 1950" (Collet's Bookshop, 66 Charing Cross Road, W. C. 2, 3d.). The relevant part is the speech by Mr. Vyshinsky on Oct. 2, 1950.

J. SCOTT MATHESON

23 St. Mary's Road,  
Headington, Oxford.

## Cos in Russia

**I** WAS very interested in what Kathleen Lonsdale had to say about the legal position of Cos in Russia; yet I cannot feel that the situation is quite as she describes it.

All sources known to me, including our own WRI records over the past 25 years, indicate that the status of the objector in the USSR steadily deteriorated after a rather "generous" period in the early revolutionary days, and that legal provision for his exemption was dropped from the 1939 Military Service Law.

The remarks of the then People's Commissar for Defence, K.Y. Voroshilov, explaining this action, have often been quoted. He said that there was no longer any need for provision for exemption of objectors as no single claim for exemption had been received from the whole of the 1937 and 1939 drafts.

According to the information we have, the position is as you stated it in Peace News for Dec. 7:

"The tests applied in these cases were, however, so rigorous (as to parentage and ancestry) that the provisions fell into abeyance and were cancelled."

Kathleen Lonsdale writes: "There is provision for objection on religious grounds, but there are, indeed, very few objectors."

If she or any other member of the Friends' mission would substantiate this statement, I, for one, would be very relieved.

GRACE M. BEATON

War Resisters' International,  
Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue,  
Bush Hill Park, Enfield.

## Lord Linlithgow

**I** WAS a little surprised at the note on Lord Linlithgow in "Behind the News" (PN, Jan. 11). I could myself build up a strong case against the late Viceroy from his public record. But to say that his "handsome, arrogant face" provides "irrefutable evidence" against him is hardly convincing—or fair. I should not like to be in the dock with a jury which prejudged the actions and character of the defendant by his appearance.

"Basic incompatibility between the man and his job" (the fault specified) depends upon the job. Linlithgow's job was to hold India down. Mountbatten's job was to lay the foundations of freedom. For two such different jobs different characters are appropriate. So long as we practice imperialism no proconsular type is "incompatible with his job." The lamentable thing is that we still, in many parts of the world, uphold a system which requires such administrators—not merely men with "handsome, arrogant faces," but men who believe in British rule and white supremacy as a creed.

It is also a pity that Halifax was classed with Mountbatten as a conciliator, for his record denies it; and at no time was Congress "dominated by Gandhi."

REGINALD REYNOLDS

20 Jubilee Place,  
Chelsea, S.W.3.

## Operation Gandhi

**A**S one who was privileged to play a minor part in "Operation Gandhi" may I say that to take part in such a venture is really good for one's soul, we need more moves of this kind, for many members of the public are ready to listen to the pacifist point of view if only we can "get it over" to them.

I sincerely hope that "Operation Gandhi" has aroused the hopes and interest of other pacifists who will be ready to take active part in further demonstrations of this kind. It is easy for a magistrate to impose a fine of 30s. upon 11 people but not too easy to do so with a 100 people.

A sound pat on the back is due to those who were arrested—in military terms they were "just the job."

BILL LOWE  
39 St. Mary's Road,  
Hornsey, N.8.

## We did not say it...

New Sathaporn Cinema Co. Ltd. elects following directors: Air Marshal Fuen Ronapakas, Police Lieut. General Phao Sriyanond, Colonel Suwann Penchand, Major General Karb Kunchorn and Nai Lai-an Sirisingh.

What's that chap without the uniform doing in the film business?

—Bangkok Post (Thailand), Dec.  
12, 1951

## IF UNO FAILS

### Gandhi's advice

Manuban Gandhi, who was with Mahatma Gandhi at New Delhi up to the time of his death, reports the following conversation on Oct. 17, 1947, when some Indian visitors put some questions to the Mahatma about the international position of Indians:

What should Indians in South Africa do if UNO failed to help them in any way?

The first thing is that Satyagraha (Non-violent resistance) never fails. Nor can I understand how it can possibly fail. Indians must prove their worth.

Assuming UNO was not able to solve this question justly. What effect will that have on the Organisation?

If it fails to give justice it will lose its influence.

What effect will it have on the world?

Who can tell what effect it would have on the world? I do not know.

If it is desirable for world peace to remove distinctions based on race or colour and nothing can be done to remove the evil even by those who believe in that principle. What is your advice to such people?

Those who believe in that principle and yet do nothing are hypocrites. Such people have no guts. If there is to be peace in the world it is most essential to remove all distinctions based on race or colour.

## Germany v. militarism

### From a Correspondent

**F**EW would have been willing to predict, in 1945, that within ten years a spontaneous movement of German public opinion would be the main effectual bulwark against a European drift to war. Yet this is increasingly so—the traditionally "pacific" nations of the West have surrendered almost without a struggle, and certainly without effective public resistance, to the blandishments of NATO.

It is Germany, the former aggressor, which today carries the burden of potentially decisive action.

### The "anti-rearmament" front

The rate of development of anti-militarist feeling and action in Germany so far bids fair to outpace the political negotiations for a German army. The progress of the last few weeks, since the visit of Dr. Adenauer to London, has, by all accounts, been striking.

The fight against remilitarisation has so far been conducted with mixed motives, by pacifists, neutralists, Communists, certain extreme nationalists, and by individuals. These pressure groups have, however, done no more than render vocal a vast body of solid if inarticulate public feeling, voiced in the growing "Ohne mich" movement, and even within Dr. Schumacher's party, which might officially support militarisation upon terms.

Fed by a growing distrust of American political leadership and by the awareness of Europe's expendability in the American plan of campaign, this body of unorganised protest has found its voice. The Manchester Guardian recently commented, with alarm, that the anti-rearmament "front" from Right to Left, was moving rapidly toward a common basis of action.

Forthright appeals, not only for political action, but, more significantly, for specific and individual refusal of military service, have grown in number, and the growing unity of resolution among the potential conscript public may well prove more important than the diversity of motive among those who urge it to act.

### NATO's weapons

It would be foolish, however, to underestimate the difficulties which the German public faces in making its protest effective.

The large refugee population and the fear of the East make it a ready target for defence propaganda, and the sponsors of the NATO policy possess wide resources of deception and coercion which have not yet been brought to bear.

Never was a nation confronted with so important an opportunity of influencing events. The failure of German rearmament, important as its political consequences would be, might exert a still wider influence by example. Successful resistance would prove to the expendable conscripts of many lands, East and West, that militarism can be effectively resisted, and that it can be resisted by individual action.

The Japanese, who face the same problems, would be heartened in their own struggle. A mortal blow would be struck at the entire edifice of war-preparation, and a breathing space granted to the countries which, like our own, have become entangled in American global strategy, in which they can develop second thoughts.

### IRENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

# Peace MPs at Bristol

# OPERATION GANDHI AND THE PRESS

By a Peace News Reporter

From MARGARET L. BROOKS  
"PEACE is the most important problem at the present time," said Anthony Wedgwood Benn, MP for Bristol East, at a meeting organised by the Bristol Peace Council recently. "but there is a danger of over-simplification, thinking that the solution is just a 'right course of action.'"

Generals, he said, seeing Europe in terms of man-power in the field or labour behind the lines, tended to think in terms of quick results. We could all see the danger of this, but the same warning must be applied to "peace by negotiation." In negotiating with the Soviet Union it would be very unlikely that the terms would be immediately satisfactory. Negotiations, too, meant long and painful effort, and we must not invite disillusionment and discouragement by accepting one or more failures as final. We must never harbour the hope that an overnight settlement, as it were, could solve all the difficulties of the world.

## End Billingsgate abuse

Referring with approval to Mr. Eden's appeal against slanging matches, in his speech in Paris, Mr. Wedgwood Benn said that the modern propaganda machine used hate to cover up evil. As readers of newspapers, we could do much to bring to an end the use of cheap Billingsgate abuse.

The second speaker, Reginald Sorensen MP, stressed that peace meant hard work, but, as he said, recreation palls unless it is earned, and without effort and strenuous endeavour, the pleasures and joys of life lose their richness."

Peace must not be regarded as part of the natural rhythm of life, said Mr. Sorensen. There was a tendency when things went wrong to blame governments, nations, classes and systems. We were prone to relieve ourselves of responsibility—to blame Russia or America while we basked in the white robe of righteousness.

## The march of civilised man

Negotiation was the mark of civilised man, he went on, and said how impressed he had been by the unfailing patience, persistence and devotion in the negotiations between this country and India. In face of their success, we must not be discouraged if we could not see the results of our efforts.

We must persuade America that we had something to say, helping them to understand what lay beneath the Chinese and Russian revolutions. Just as America had asked us to release India, so we were now entitled to ask them to recognise the will of the people in China and Russia.

**T**HE pacifists who demonstrated outside the War Office on Jan. 11 as a symbolic appeal to their fellow citizens "to accept pacifism and non-violent resistance as the right and honourable course for the defence of our country," made news for a number of daily and weekly newspapers and periodicals.

In addition to the Daily Mail picture, reprinted in Peace News last week, The Times and Evening Standard reported the charges of obstruction without referring to the cause. Early additions of the Evening Standard and the Star referred to "Peace" (with quotation marks) arrests."

The Daily Worker gave a long report, marred however, by the headline "Police manhandle Pacifists." The police used the minimum force necessary in carrying out their orders.

The Socialist Leader printed in full the press statement released by Operation Gandhi after the action.

## "in every town and village"

The Railway Review, in a sympathetic comment, said:

"We may wonder what good it was. These people looked silly and felt silly. But were they? Had they done any thing to impress the passers-by with the urgency to do what they could to help persuade those in authority to seek peaceful methods in international relations?"

"It would be interesting to see the effects of such demonstrations if they were carried out simultaneously in every town and village in this country."

The Stoke Newington and Hackney Observer gave the demonstration a local twist when they made it the splash story for their issue of Jan. 18.

Across five columns on the front page went the streamer headline: "Gandhi Men work from Local H.Q.: Lordship Park base for campaign."

## "Why we did it"

Sir Lawrence Dunne, the Bow Street Magistrate before whom the demonstrators appeared, said that while he had no doubt that they had acted from the highest motives, there were other channels open to them for getting their views known and that they should not have acted in the way they did.

Members of Operation Gandhi told Sir Lawrence that they felt that such action was the only way open for them to protest

against the use of modern methods of mass destruction.

They assured him that "they were opposed to all forms of warfare," and that they felt they must make their protest against war "now, not after it had started," as many of them had done as COs in the last war.

## Constance was undaunted

Constance Gibbs was hailed as hero of the day by the other members of Operation Gandhi.

Prevented from getting to the War Office at the appointed time, she arrived when all the demonstrators had been taken to Cannon Row police station.

Undaunted, she asked a policeman which were the steps of the War Office. When they were pointed out to her she walked across the road and sat on them, alone.

As she was led away to Cannon Row, one of the leaflet distributors followed, calling out "Read all about it" as he handed out his leaflets.

## "We did not scrub the steps"

Asked afterwards by a pacifist observer if all the demonstrators had gone, the Commissioner at the door of the War Office said: "Yes. We knew they were coming, so we didn't scrub the steps this morning!"

A more serious note was struck by an elderly lady, who told one of the pacifists sitting on the pavement: "I'd be down there with you if I had the courage. Give me some leaflets, anyway, I'll give them out for you."

Financial help and promises of support are coming to Operation Gandhi from pacifists in London and the provinces. A conference this weekend will consider various proposals on non-violent pacifist methods.

**Poster Offer.** For 3s. a year the Friends Peace Committee offers to supply a new peace poster every two months to those wishing to exhibit them. Remittances should be sent to the Committee at Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

January 25, 1952, PEACE NEWS—5

## Up and doing!

### RANDOM SHAFTS

THOSE odd copies of PN "just left around" often hits the mark.

Take, for instance, the copy which one of our office helpers left with a neighbour. The good lady just forgot it, but her teen-age daughter picked it up, got absorbed and handed it round at school.

Result? A thorough-going discussion of disarmament at the School Debating Society, with a surprising degree of spontaneous interest and support.

Or take the Cornish PN worker who took a long shot at prominent Labour personalities in his district.

Result? An invitation to speak at the Party's monthly meeting—took along all his pacifist friends too, and "made a considerable impression."

Keep up those random shafts. Our mailbag proves that not a few new supporters are coming from the copies you leave around, the extra one or two you buy each week and post off to other people.

H.F.M.

Circulation last week, 12,100

## BRIEFLY . . .

The winter issue of "The War Resister," the organ of the War Resisters' International, is devoted to a report of the triennial conference held at Brunswick last July. Copies can be obtained at 1s. from 88 Park Ave., Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

Eltham PPU, which held a successful Mock Tribunal on Jan. 5, has arranged an "Appellate Tribunal" for Feb. 2 (for details see Diary). Future plans of the group include leaflet distribution and a Peace Rally.

Pacifists on Hayling Island are invited to get in touch with Arthur E. Stevens of 2 Northwood Lane, Hayling Island, who is hoping to organise a local group to spread the gospel of peace, exchange literature, and write letters to the local press when suitable opportunities occur.

**Research Workers Wanted.** The London Group of the Labour Pacifist Fellowship are engaged on research work into the effects of rearmament both on conditions in this country and on the international situation. Any socialist-pacifists who would like to co-operate are invited to write to the Secretary, Ron Isaacs, 16 Coniston Road, London, N.17.

## CLASSIFIED

### PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

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# Questions that await Mr. Churchill

## EGYPT, FORMOSA, MALAYA

OUR first task when we return to Parliament next week will be to try to find out from Winston Churchill what he has committed us to in America.

His speech at Washington has not been greeted with overwhelming enthusiasm anywhere.

The Washington correspondent of the French paper Figaro has compared his reception to that given to the venerable conductor of an orchestra, who has conducted in his old conventional style, but without *éclat*. There was appreciation and sympathetic applause for the old maestro who had done his best but was also getting too old for these displays.

Those who had expected an ovation of the Fulton kind were disappointed. And there were one or two jarring notes.

### Invitation to Egypt

What was this invitation to send American troops to Egypt? A token force only? But what did that imply? Are there not enough American boys being sent overseas already? What new trouble is this that America is being asked to walk into?

Even the British Foreign Office thought it necessary to issue an explanation. Actually Britain had no right to invite American troops, or any other troops, to assist in protecting the Suez Canal because we are there as a result of a special Anglo-Egyptian Treaty and this is not a United Nations affair at all.

Egypt would be entitled to make a first class row at UNO if any other troops arrived. Then the USSR might raise the question about other canals which might need to be taken under international control, and one would not put it past Mr. Vyshinsky to argue that a Russian token force might be required at Panama.

### No economy in Middle East

No, on this matter Mr. Churchill was certainly premature and tactless. This was exactly the kind of suggestion calculated to stir up some sections of American opinion to ask, especially between now and the Presidential elections, whether Mr. Churchill was up to some of his old imperialist games and was expecting Uncle Sam to pull the chestnuts out of the Middle East fire. And this looks like developing into another expensive fire at a time when we have precious little money, men or material to spend on a flare up in Egypt, or elsewhere.

It will be interesting to find out what our increased expenditure in Egypt is likely to be if we have a minor guerilla war campaign to deal with in the Suez Canal area.

Malaya has been costly enough and now we have a brand new General, another one, going out there to take control of a situation which is getting worse.

If we are to believe the Press, he is the latest in military supermen and we are supposed to sit back now; confident that he has new plans to defeat the bandits and

### MANILAL GANDHI

(Continued from page one)

without respect? So these poor people are kicked from pillar to post by everyone.

To quote just one instance. I sent a young African student of Fort Hare College, who was living in the same home where I was accommodated, to the railway station to book my seat and to convert my third class ticket to a second class one.

When he first went he was told to come later. When he went the second time he was told by the man in charge that his time was up and was just going off duty. The next one in charge told him to come later. Then the third time he went to convert the ticket an hour or so before the train was due to leave.

The person in charge refused to convert the ticket for reasons best known to himself. I had to have the ticket converted on the train.

I had stated above that I would be obliged to commit a breach of the apartheid laws in the course of my movements. Accordingly as I was going to catch my train I intentionally walked in through the entrance meant for Europeans only, which of course was the main entrance, and went over the bridge with railway officials gazing at me. Thus ended my visit to Bloemfontein.

### NO WAR WITH CHINA

Peace and Trade Instead

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the jungle. But we remember that General Briggs was boosted in this way.

And what exactly has Mr. Churchill committed us to do in the Far East?

The War Office thought it necessary to issue an explanation here too. But this was a part of the speech that did seem to please official circles in Washington.

What did this public appreciation of American policy in Formosa by Mr. Churchill mean?

It has been noted that Mr. Churchill is more amenable than Mr. Attlee was to American pressure for a stiffer policy towards China.

Have we been committed to support an American plan to use the forces of Chiang Kai-shek in Indo-China, Korea, or some adventurous gamble on the Chinese mainland or to the bombing of Chinese towns and the blockading of the Chinese ports?

### A gamble in the Far East

There were passages in the Washington oration which sounded rather ominous to those who have some knowledge of how the Churchill mind works and know how readily he falls for large scale military gambles, irrespective of what the consequences may turn out to be.

Have we been committed now to the unconditional surrender of China, and the USSR too if this is what American policy is drifting towards now? The unconditional surrender of Communism all over the world by the method of the atomic bomb!

Those who know how Winston Churchill has reacted to world events in the past can be by no means satisfied that this is the line of policy that he has underwritten in his conversations at Washington. Perhaps not just yet, but we may be a little further down the slippery slope as a result of this expedition to the USA.

And what have we got in return? A million tons of steel, for which rearmament has the overriding priority.

Yes, we have a good idea of how Churchill has reacted to America.

Now we will want to know how British Labour is going to react to Winston Churchill.

If the Labour opposition is going to do its duty to the people of Britain and to civilisation, it will have to set aside much of what its leaders were saying this time last year and stand for a new line of foreign policy and a new attitude towards rearmament.

# "LOVE YOUR ENEMIES"

## A Judge has his doubts

*Some of you young men hold some very curious ideas that are just not related to world conditions . . . I am almost inclined to say that "love your enemies" is an immoral teaching. I don't believe it means what it says at all. If you said you could love someone who tortured his fellow men and tore out their toe nails, I should say you were a hypocrite.—Judge E. H. Wethered, Chairman South-Western Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal, Jan. 16, 1952.*

*Ye have heard that it hath been said thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you love thine enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.—St. Matthew V. 43-44.*

IT is understandable, and perhaps to be expected that young men of eighteen who have to argue before a County Court Judge and a tribunal of elderly men, all a great deal more skilled in debate than themselves, should often fail to make out a good enough case for their own conscience.

But it is unusual that a Judge, though supposed to be making an impartial judgment, but in fact arguing against a conscientious objection, should find himself in such a dilemma that he actually suggests that the teaching of Jesus is "immoral." He has, of course, by using the loose phrase "almost inclined," evaded a categorical statement as to what he really believes, but he certainly makes it clear that he thinks Jesus did not mean what He said.

It is to be assumed from his remarks that he is not himself a Christian, but even so, he would probably have given short shrift to any young conscientious objector who tried to escape answering a tricky question based on the Scriptures by replying that of course Jesus did not mean what He said.

Taken literally it would certainly be hypocritical to declare a feeling of love for someone who deliberately tore out the toe nails of a fellow human being, as it would be hypocritical if the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, who came "crawling and groaning with sheets of skin hanging from their bodies," had said they loved the men who by pressing a button inflicted upon them this appalling means of torture.

It ought not to be necessary to point out to educated people that it is essential to read at least a whole sentence of any writing before making a judgment as to the meaning of three words taken from it. It would plainly be well if Judge Wethered were to read the whole of the Sermon on the Mount, but if this is too much to ask, the complete verse from which he quotes should be enough to show him that Jesus was explaining a new doctrine based upon the be-

lief that evil can be overcome only by meeting it with good, not with retaliation in kind, which is what the Judge would appear to be recommending to the boys attending his Tribunal.

It may be that these young men have not read the Sermon on the Mount, and even if they had, might have difficulty in expounding it, but they have realised all the same, that torture for torture, hatred for hatred, evil for evil, is not the way to secure justice or peace. They may not be able to argue it with a wealth of dialectic, but they knew it to be true.

World conditions, to which their pacifism is unrelated, according to Judge Wethered, may well be bewildering to boys, who so short a time ago when they were still children at school, were taught to love their "neighbour," Russia, that great battle ally of the Western powers, and who they are now to learn to hate.

It was a friendship of expediency and has now been proved to be no friendship at all. If enemies are to be turned into friends and evil to be defeated, then good must be positively set in the balance against the bad—the turned cheek, the cloak as well as the coat, the second mile as well as the first.

In order to achieve reconciliation and the triumph of good, it is necessary to recognise the faults on all sides, and then turning away from the old doctrines of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," put in its place, tolerance, patience, generosity, gentleness and forgiveness.

This is the "immoral teaching" of the Sermon on the Mount.

A New Propaganda Leaflet, "Your Questions Answered," published by the PPU and printed in orange and black, contains 18 questions and answers about what the PPU is and how it works. Supplies can be obtained from 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, and contributions towards the cost of printing will be welcomed. Shipley PPU Group are organising door-to-door distribution of the leaflet.

## The IFL comes of age

### HOW AN IDEA GREW

By Mary Willis

"To promote a spirit of friendship and mutual toleration of each other's ideas and ideals amongst the peoples of the world in an endeavour to secure a permanent condition of peaceful co-operation in international affairs."

SUCH are the objects of the International Friendship League, which celebrates its 21st birthday this year, and has about 10,000 members in this and other countries.

How does it seek to attain these objects? I had a glimpse of the working of the League when I was on holiday in Germany last summer, and attended a meeting of the Bonn branch.

There I found about 20 enthusiastic young people discussing

There is one permanent IFL Centre, "Peace Haven," a fine house in Acton, West London, where members and friends from all parts of the world can stay at a very reasonable charge. Soon the League hopes to have another permanent centre at Swansea, South Wales, which will be run in co-operation with several other kindred bodies.

The prices of all IFL holiday centres are kept as low as possible, and for the past two years grants from the South African Aid to Britain Fund have enabled the League to allot 30 to 40 travel scholarships to young people who could not otherwise afford a holiday abroad, and who travel as "ambassadors" of their youth club or IFL branch.

The IFL is non-political and non-sectarian, and believes in providing an open forum for the discussion of all topics which have a bearing on its aims. The January programme of Branches in the London area includes such varied subjects as the United Nations Association, The Story of Modern Cosmetics, Signals from the Stars, and Life in Hungary.

Members try to extend the hand of friendship to people from other countries who are living in their area, such as students, trainees, volunteer workers and others, by inviting them to share in local activities. Besides talks and discussions, these include visits to places of interest, socials, dances and rambles.

### Accent on service

An important part of the work is the accent placed on personal service, both to the League itself and in helping people of different countries. Many members have



A West Indian and an English member in the garden at Peace Haven, the IFL's first permanent centre in England.

taken part in relief work, and since the war small groups of children have been brought over from the Continent for recuperative holidays. Contributions in cash and kind have been made to various relief schemes, and the British Section has adopted the small Greek village of Exochi, local branches taking different individual families under their wing.

A special effort was made recently to help Po Valley flood victims when Sidney Dahl, the International Vice-Chairman in Sweden, got together a lorry-load of warm clothing and other necessities. This was driven across Europe by two members of the local branch at Jönköping, Sweden.

As friends from overseas, who have become interested in the League in England or elsewhere, return to their homelands, they form a fresh link in the world-wide chain of friendship, and special efforts are now being made to draw such friends together in new branches and National Sections.

Lord Boyd-Orr, who is President of the International Friendship League, has said:

"World unity must be attained because it is the only safeguard for peace. It must be built from the bottom upwards by getting the people of different nationalities to meet together to understand each other and realise that the hope of the future lies in the friendly co-operation, not only of governments, but of the people themselves."

In its 21 years of life the League has done much, in a quiet yet effective way, towards promoting the world unity of which he speaks, and it will, I believe, do still more in years to come, as its membership grows and its influence spreads.